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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

The Rights of Man

This is the democratic idea: that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain natural rights, which only the possessor can alienate; that all men are equal in these rights; that among them is the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that the business of the government is to preserve for every man all of these rights until he alienates them.

This democratic idea is founded in human nature, and comes from the nature of God who made human nature. To carry it out politically is to execute justice, which is the will of God. This idea, in its realization, leads to a democracy, a government of all, for all, by all. Such a government aims to give every man all his natural rights; it desires to have political power in all hands, wisdom in all heads, goodness in all hearts, religion in all souls, a religion that disposes a man to give all men their rights and to claim his own rights at all times.

Such a government has laws, and the aim thereof is to give justice to all men; it has officers to execute these laws, for the sake of justice. Such a government founds schools for all; looks after those most who are most in need; defends and protects the feeblest as well as the richest and most powerful. The State is for the individual, and for all the individuals, and so it reverences justice, where the rights of all, and the interests of all, exactly balance. It demands free speech; everything is open to examination, discussion, "agitation" if you will. Thought is to be free, speech to be free, work to be free, and worship is to be free. Such is the democratic idea, and such the State which it attempts to found.

—*Theodore Parker.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1919 Number 25

THEODORE PARKER.

(August 24.)

Who shall write on history's pages
  Whether men succeed or fail,
Which the barque that makes the harbor
  Or that founders in the gale?

Some men braver than their brothers
  Into deeper waters steer,
See the gathering of storm clouds
  Face the tempest without fear.

Far away in distant city,
  One we knew of bravely died,
Perished grieved and broken hearted
  Though God's truth was on his side.

With the past we try the present,
  Surely he who runs mav read,
Seeing in the full blown flower,
  What was latent in the seed.

So to-day, from press and pulpit,
  Acclamations rise and ring,
Human voices rise in concert,
  And the martyr's praises sing.

Sing the praises of the prophet,
  Of the scholar, poet, priest,
Not one voice is heard dissenting
  From the greatest to the least.

But the question waits an answer,
  Would the men who sound this praise
Have been found with his supporters,
  Had they lived in Parker's days?

Hearken, loyal men and women,
  Who is greatest in the fight,
Being made in this republic,
  For the triumph of the right?

Long the church of Christ has rested
  On the laurels won by those,
Whom, as living men, she counted
  With religion's deadliest foes.

Shall the old wrong be repeated,
  Has the world no greater grown,
Since Christ walked the earth a stranger
  And endured the cross alone?

Mightily must he be furnished,
  Who that cross would raise and bear,
Weak and wavering his fellows,
  If they fail to do their share.

Slowly grind the mills immortal,
  Men the truth but half discern,
Patient stand the gods above them,
  Bid us listen, look and learn.

Ministers of God and prophets
  Called to lead us in the fray,
Be not silent, timid, cringing,
  Up, advance, and lead the way.

Burst the fetters that still bind us
  Let no coward's tongue or pen,
Break your sacred resolution,
  To uplift the minds of men.

What are kingdoms, what are nations?
  The democracy of God
Stands to-day in fiery trial,
  And, where martyr's feet have trod

They are calling you to follow,
  Paths long since blazed out and tried.
God Himself will be your leader,
  And the strength of soul provide.

Hearken then, ye men and women,
  Who is bravest in the field?
In the struggle that is raging,
  Who will be the last to yield?

It is that man who sees clearly,
  Who has felt his human blood,
Flinging hot through heart and temple,
  One grand sympathetic flood.

Such men only break the bondage
  That convention welds so strong,
Such men only blaze the pathways
  Where great multitudes may throng.

Such men write on history's pages,
  Whether they succeed or fail,
This old world looks on and wonders
  Who will next take up the tale.

—*Kate Restreaux.*

Published first in "Springfield Republican."

Is Europe ruined beyond all hope of recovery as a result of the Great War? A writer in the August *Atlantic Monthly* speculates upon "a great and increasing migration from Great Britain, and indeed from all the war-tortured countries, of people fleeing from national bankruptcy in a region haunted by evil dreams." Mr. Frank Vanderlip, in his book, "What Happened to Europe," tells us that the War has left even the strongest of European nations practically bankrupt, and that nothing can save the situation but an immense international loan advanced to Europe by America, to be administered by an International Loan Commission. Obviously it is too early to dogmatize on the existing situation—nobody knows, amid such an accumulation of disaster and loss, what is to be the final outcome. But it is *not* too early to point out the folly, from every larger and more far-seeing point of view, of talking about victors and vanquished in this awful struggle. Militarily and politically—yes, there was triumph on the side of the Allies, for which soldiers and statesmen are entitled to all due credit. But there are deeper things in life these days than political and military affairs. Economics is what counts fundamentally in the long run, and economically not any one nation, or group of nations, has won or lost. They have all lost together. Humanity is defeated! By this same token, also, should it be

remembered that not any one nation, or group of nations, but only humanity as a whole, can save the future. This is the great message of Mr. Vanderlip's book. Europe, he says, in the great work of recovery, must be treated *as a whole!*

As one sees the great ideals for which the War was fought by the multitudes fading pitifully away—the hopes which sustained men during those years of agony, turning to dust and ashes—great statesmen who pledged themselves to a war that should end war, satisfied with having done the best they could at the peace Conference, content if their work keeps the world at peace for the space of a single generation—one thinks of the millions of dead sleeping these days beneath the poppies "in Flanders fields." Those gallant youths of France and England and America felt that they were not dying in vain, were glad to lay down their lives to save their children from such a horror as had come upon themselves. And now the fight is over; and the pledges given these heroes by their leaders are not redeemed. Seven millions dead, five or seven times as many million wounded, unnumbered innocents smitten of disease and famine, Europe ruined perhaps forever—and no guarantee of enduring peace secured! How futile has been the sacrifice! And yet, has it been so futile? Do brave and pure men ever die in vain? Is Calvary ever a mockery to the crucified? No so thought William Morris, who, as though in anticipation of this present, wrote these lines in "Sigurd the Volsung":

When thou hearest the fool rejoicing, and he saith, "It is over and past,
And the wrong was better than right, and hate turns into love at the last,
And we strove for nothing at all, and the gods are fallen asleep,
For so good the world is a-growing that the evil good shall reap,"
Then loosen thy sword in the scabbard and settle the helm on thy head,
For men betrayed are mighty, and great are the wrongfully dead."

Within twenty-four hours after Secretary of War Baker had announced his bill providing for universal compulsory military training, the National Guard Association, assembled in annual convention in New York, had come out in opposition to the measure. Delegates representing 500,000 men in the National Guard and national army of the United States agreed in denunciation of a policy which "creates at enormous expense the machinery for the establishment in America of that detestable Prussian system which is abhorrent to the American people." Commenting upon this action, Col. William A. Colston, secretary of the joint conference of the executive and legislative officers of the Association, stated that this bill for universal service "is the swan-song of the General Staff. Failing utterly in its efforts to secure necessary recruits for the regular army, it now attempts in time of peace, under the guise of a universal service bill, to resort to conscription, and to seize from their homes the youth of America for service in the regular army." It is a relief to find that it is military men who are thus the first to understand and reveal what is involved in this iniquitous proposal, now unaccountably fathered by the Secretary of War. It is of course the deliberate foisting upon America of exactly that hideous Prussianism which 75,000 Americans, among millions of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Belgians, etc., have heroically died to destroy forever. So patent is this fact that it is certain that nothing but some diversion or corruption of public attention, like a trumped-up war with Mexico, can save the measure from overwhelming defeat. Conscription, court-martial scandals, prison-camp brutalities, above all the disappointment of the War itself, have left the people in this country in no mood for further indulgence in military activities.

"Noske uses the Iron Heel"—so runs the headline in the newspapers. Reading on in the dispatch, we discover that the German minister has scattered a socialist procession, and forbidden a socialist demonstration in the public squares. In other words, this iron-heeled official has begun to do what we have been doing here in America for months. Socialist processions have long since become impossible in most of the cities and towns of the United States; and a socialist meeting, if it is not forbidden or broken up, is the occassion of hysterical denunciations from press and pulpit, and prompt investigation by the secret service. But does anybody call this "the Iron Heel"? Does anybody suggest that American officials are crushing to death beneath their feet the dearest liberties of the Republic? Oh, no! When we disperse processions and assemblies, silence the free utterance of opinion, imprison political offenders, exercise ruthless repression upon all who do not readily submit to the dominant regime, we are not Noskes at all, but red-blooded, one hundred per cent American patriots, alert to defend the government from outrage! Jesus should return to earth, that he might speak again his word, *"Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thin own eyes? . . . Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."*

The church, even in these parlous days, is not without prophets. There are brave, clear-visioned men now, just as there were in ancient Israel; and what they see, they speak! A group of these prophets, the

saving remnant of Protestant Episcopacy in this country, have recently issued a manifesto which should not pass unnoticed and unapplauded. It reads:

At this supreme hour of the world's history when God's truth is desperately needed, the Church is apostate to its divine mission.

Christ said, "He that saveth his life shall lose it." Instead of sacrificing itself for the life of the world, the Church is now struggling to save its life by a campaign to raise millions for its own development, and is apparently unaware of the profound movements for the fuller, freer life on the part of groups, classes and races. The Church furnishes its own table and the sheep are not being fed.

The Church must repent in sackcloth and ashes. It must repudiate its affiliation with, and support of, the capitalistic system of production with its unholy emphasis on profits, privileges, and exploitation, which have impoverished and fettered the mass of the people of the world. And it must demonstrate that repentance by a whole-hearted endorsement of those movements which are seeking to establish a real brotherhood among men.

We therefore call upon the Church to endeavor to understand and assist the working out of that social and industrial revolution with the conscious purpose of helping to prepare the way for such a complete revolution of our present economic and social disorder that a Christian order may be evolved.

This manifesto is signed by Bishop Jones and twenty-three other men and women.

My first job appears to be to persuade the people here to improve their physical equipment. Nothing has been done to the church in thirty years, although the population of the city has increased fifty per cent in that time.

Thus writes an ardent young clergyman, in survey of his first parish. Could anything be more significant of the condition of our Protestant churches these days—or more characteristic? For this is no isolated instance, by any means. Here is a Congregational Church in a thriving city, which has fallen upon such conditions of indifference and neglect, even upon the part of the people whose spiritual home it is, that its property has fallen into ruin such as no one of these people would tolerate in their family homes for a single instant. When churches mean something in the lives of men and women, their edifices and altars are cherished as tenderly, adorned as lavishly, preserved as carefully, as hand and heart can provide. When the religion for which they stand loses its hold upon the multitudes, and the churches become mere monuments of ancient days, these edifices and altars fall into pitiful decay. The mouldering cathedrals of Europe are the eloquent testimony of the passing of Romanism. And in the same way the shabby, dis-repaired, poverty-stricken Protestant churches, seen so often in our cities and towns, bear witness to the passing of Protestantism. Beautiful and prosperous churches are still to be seen, but they are getting rarer every day.

The late Oscar Hammerstein was an extraordinary genius. It seems strange that to a man of such origin and character, America should be indebted for one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of modern music. It was his courage, however—audacity we might better call it!—which conceived and built the Manhattan Opera House in New York, and his intelligence which made the early years of that institution the most notable of our time. To realize what we owe to him, we only have to remember that it was Hammerstein who brought to this country the greatest of all contemporary operatic conductors, Cleofonte Campanini; introduced to us those two consummate and histrionic artists, Mary Garden and Maurice Renaud, and added to the permanent repertoire of American opera houses such works as Massenet's "Thais" and "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame," Charpentier's "Louise," Offenbach's "Hoffman," and Debussy's "Pelleas & Melisande." Oscar Hammerstein's seasons at the Manhattan were an unrivalled *tour de force*. He was finally beaten in his struggle against the Metropolitan, and forced to abdicate his managerial throne; but the contributions which he had made to the enlargement of musical knowledge and the quickening of musical interest here in America, were his forever. In the last dark days of his life, his mind must have often reverted to those glorious nights when, surrounded by his incomparable singers, he was hailed as *maestro* by enraptured thousands. Those plaudits were well earned, and they were silently repeated in a myriad hearts on the day when he was no more.

The Race Riots*

It is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the race riots in Washington and Chicago which have astounded the country and held for a moment the attention of the world. To regard them as accidental or ephemeral outbreaks, occasioned by peculiar local conditions, argues either ignorance or stupidity. To ascribe them to the social and psychological disturbances created by the war, is to be satisfied with a very partial and therefore inadequate explanation. What we have here at bottom is an evil, deep-rooted in the soil of American life, coming now to its inevitable fruition of disaster. Inwrought in the very fiber of our being as a people, is this cancer of social discord and oppression, deliberately cultivated for generations, cut out with much bloodshed in the vast "operation" of the Civil War, healed over but never cured, and now breaking out afresh in form more terrible than ever. "A question is never settled," said Wendell Phillips, referring specifically to chattel slavery, "until it is settled right." These race riots of our day are proving that this axiom is as true of the Negro problem after the Civil War as it was before!

Two elements were fatally mixed in the Washington and Chicago horrors—the one white, and the other black. It may be well to analyze these elements, and

*Published simultaneously in "Reconstruction."

discover if we can what forces were working in each to such disastrous ends?

On the side of the white, is to be noted, first of all, the fact of race prejudice. This fact is now so universal, among the so-called superior races at least, that we are tempted to regard it as instinctive. But it is not! Put together a white child and a black child, unspoiled by bad example or perverted education, and neither one is conscious of, or if conscious is troubled by, the color of the other. Race prejudice is a superstition, conceived and nurtured as a protective device of the higher against the lower, a defensive reaction of the man who is up, against the man who is down. It is nothing more nor less than an attempt on the part of the socially superior to justify, or disguise, their fear of other men by deliberate assumption of virtue. Cultivated by every self-regarding motive, race prejudice has now become as it were a universal instinct. It is felt not only by Southerners, but by Northerners whenever thrown in contact with a preponderance of Negroes. It is directed not only against the black man, as in Alabama and Mississippi, but against the yellow man, as in California, or even the dark Mexican, as in Arizona. Like the secretion in the mouth-glands of the serpent, this prejudice is poison, and fatal when released.

Again, in the case of the rioting whites, there was the fact of economic competition. For two years now, and more, thousands of Negroes have been journeying to the North, partly to escape oppression in the southern states, partly to take advantage of the wonderful opportunities for economic advancement suddenly opened up in all great industrial centers by the exigencies of the war. In many cases the Negroes were induced to migrate by northern employers looking for cheap and willing labor, and plenty of it. The result has been an amazing increase of the Negro population in our northern cities, and now, with the sudden shifting of labor conditions, an aggravation of competition between blacks and whites for employment. Much of the passion of the rioting whites was directed against unfamiliar and successful invaders of an industrial field which had once been their own exclusive domain.

Lastly, as an element of disturbance on the part of the whites, there was the inevitable friction generated by social relations between peoples who are different from one another in habits, desires, ways of thought, and above all, appearance. People of different classes, of different religions, find it difficult to live together—how much more, people of different races! Adjustment on some basis of relationship is of course necessary, and usually this takes the form of caste subordination of one group to the other. It was thus, through chattel slavery, that the relations of whites and blacks were worked out in the days before the Civil War, and also—by very different means but effective—in the days after the Civil War. But the sudden influx of the Negroes to a few great centers in the North, a movement not unlike the migration of a primitive people, gave no time for this or any other kind of adjustment. Negro neighborhoods, "black belts," simply overflowed—there was nothing else for them to do! And the result was friction, breaking forth at last into fatal conflagration.

On the side of the black in these recent riots, quite other forces were at work—forces not so easily analyzed, but none the less real and terrible! Only a Negro, I suppose, can feel and therefore adequately describe these forces. But a sympathetic white man cannot be without some understanding of what is involved.

At bottom, in the case of the blacks, is the fact of oppression and cruelty, modified today ever more intensely by growing self-consciousness, ambition and unquestioned power. Here is a race which for unnumbered generations was kept outside the pale of civilization and all human comradeship. Century after century, the Negroes were mere "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water." Their status was at worst that of animals, at best that of prisoners of war. Here in America, the system of slavery for Negroes survived into an age in which it was wholly out of place, and reached an amplitude and complexity of development never known before in human history. Then, without preparation of any kind, came emancipation —which meant for the first time a political, economic and social chance for these millions hitherto in bonds. This chance was small in the beginning, and it was made smaller as time went on. But the Negro utilized it to the full! No page in all history is more wonderful than that of the rise of the black man out of slavery into a large measure of culture, material prosperity and high civic character, in the short space of half a century. Steadily through all these fifty years, in spite of every obstacle, and in defiance of all iniquity and cruelty, the Negro has risen; and it was inevitable, sooner or later, of course, that he should attain that degre of individual self-dependence and social power which would exact full and ungrudging recognition from his fellow-whites. By a kind of ironic fate, this terrific moment was precipitated by the War. Suddenly, through military conscription, through industrial pressure, through the lift and sweep of patriotic idealism, the Negro was raised to the full dignity of citizenship, in so far as this dignity involved duties and responsibilities. Side by side with the white man he drilled and marched and fought, he worked on ships and toiled in ammunition factories, he bought Liberty Bonds and observed food regulations. In a movement nation-wide, under the stress of events cataclysmic in character, he found himself

caught up into the life of great America, and accepted for the first time as a member of the family. This meant pride, responsibility, sacrifice—a heightened dignity of manhood and a deepened sense of fellowship; and it meant also, for the blacks at least, a demand, at first wistful, then determined, and at last challenging, for a full share in the nation's opportunities and rewards. And it is just this one and final thing, so naively expected and so earnestly asked, which has been denied. The nation reposed upon the Negro during the war responsibility, and now, after the war, frustration! He is conscious, as he has never been before, of denial and outrage. For the first time in his life he knows what he has done and what he deserves, and counts his exclusion therefore no longer as a doom but as a crime.

Such are the elements which have clashed in these bloody riots. From the legal standpoint there can be no partiality shown for black or white. The law-breaker's skin can have no color for judge or juror. The rioter, of which ever race, stands convicted of offence against the social order, and must pay the penalty of his offence, without respect to persons. But there is a moral standpoint, as well as legal; and here there is room for sympathy and favor. To every one who knows history, who hates oppression and cruelty, who loves his fellow-men as brethren in God, there must come these days a great tide of compassion for the Negro. Whatever his faults or crimes in these bitter hours of disillusionment, his appeal reaches to the heart, and lays unshakeable hold upon every sense of decency, honor, fair play and simple brotherhood. In the greatest crisis in human history, the Negro was used to the limit and proved himself a valiant servant of a great cause. Now, when the crisis is over, he finds himself thrown aside, hated and spat upon as much as ever, banished politically, industrially and socially from the circle of his fellows. What wonder that he feels himself betrayed, and acts as other men have always acted under the stress of this same circumstance! What he does may not be right, in the rioting has not been right; but it is at least human, and has abundant precedent.

And to every one who knows history, and hates oppression and cruelty, and loves his fellow-men as brethren in God—and also has some common-sense! —there comes at this hour not only compassion but conviction! The whole situation, from the standpoint of cause and cure, is eminently simple:

(1) Cause? A great race, smitten with sorrow, dowered with genius, tested by great achievement, demands to be received into the human family. The last, but not the least, of the brethren, calls for recognition.

(2) Cure? This demand must be granted—this call answered! We might as well learn first as last—before disaster instead of after disaster—that there is no settlement of the Negro question short of equality and brotherhood. The white man cannot afford to offer, the black man cannot afford to accept, anything less. Still today it is as true as yesterday that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CONTRIBUTED

Labor Conditions in Great Britain

Those who have not been in England during the last few months can hardly appreciate the anxiety that is felt here concerning the present labor struggle. Every thoughtful man with whom one talks expresses the greatest apprehension. The flooding of the coal mines gives some indications of the lengths to which organized labor is prepared to go to gain its ends. It distrusts the government. It distrusts the organization of capital. It has confidence only in the rule of the workers themselves. Employers of labor are struggling against great odds to bring order out of chaos and to carry on. Many of them would give up business entirely rather than face the conditions which confront them today if they consulted only their own choice. But through an interest in the country and desire to see order prevail once more they carry on. How long this acute state of affairs will last none can tell, nor does the solution yet appear.

"But America will not escape this same condition," said Sir Henry Ballou, addressing a group of Americans today. She will sooner or later face the same acute conflict and will have to meet it as best she can.

Perhaps this state of things is a natural consequence of the war. Perhaps it is natural that the laborers of Great Britain who worked so heroically for their country during the war, should, now that the war is over, settle down to a supreme indifference to the interests of the country and of all who live in it.

But the roots of the trouble are deeper than this. They are farther to seek. Fundamentally the difficulty consists in nothing less than a failure of any religious valuation of the whole field of industrial activity. "Business is business" has been the creed by which a generation ago the preacher was told that the things with which religion has to do were not practicable in the affairs of the market and the shop. He accordingly ran his business according to the demands of the selfish interests which he sought to serve therein. While the man who employed others held the power he often flagrantly violated the laws of right and justice in his dealing with those who worked for him. Now that the handle of power has passed to the other side, we are suffering from the same selfish, short-sighted, irreligious view of life.

A keen business man of England said the other day, when you go down to the bottom of this trouble it is just failure to recognize the wisdom of the Sermon on the Mount. Sir Henry Ballou said, "It is due to our failure to educate religiously the young of our land, or as we should say to train them in a religious attitude toward life. It is the result of our having taught the children in our schools and churches every-

thing else, except that which is most important for any state of which they may be members, i. e., the permanent and enduring attitude of intelligent good will toward their fellowmen."

To say this may seem to repeat a truism. But surely it is no truism to say that the churches to which has been committed in America the work of religious education, for the most part show no adequate appreciation of the fundamental social importance of this task. Did they but realize that the whole future of our civilization rests upon this quality of good will on the part of its citizens, surely they would quickly eliminate their present multiplicity of organizations with poorly paid ministers each duplicating the work of the other, and would get down to the task with something like the division of labor and consequent efficiency that marks the organization of business and of the public schools.

There seems no shorter cut to peace either between nations or between classes than to train the young, those who are to be employers and those who are to be employed, those who buy and those who sell, to an attitude of intelligent goodwill.

HARRY FOSTER BURNS.

London, England, July 24, 1919.

A League of Religions

At the meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held at Longwood, Pa., early in June, several religious denominations were represented, and it was urged in one of the resolutions that religious liberty be secured for all peoples throughout the world. The last session of the two-days' meeting was devoted to the sympathy of religions, and eloquent statements of this idea were presented. Why should not all the great religions of the world express this sympathy in a united effort to secure freedom of religious belief and liberty of worship in the broadest meaning of the word, in all countries?

The day has gone by when it is possible to coerce all persons and peoples into the acceptance of the forms and beliefs of any one religion. As a practical problem there does not appear to be any probability of uniting all Christians into one church. We may seriously question if such a result is desirable. Undoubtedly there are serious disadvantages in the antagonism of the sects, and especially in small communities, where it is difficult to support even one prosperous church. But is it desirable that freedom of opinion should be suppressed in order that unity of belief may be secured? What that would mean is that all individuality with reference to religion must be suppressed. At the present stage in the world's development that is an impossibility. The only other basis on which religious unity is a possibility is that theological beliefs shall be no longer made a qualification for union with a religious society.

The very conception of religious liberty is that the individual shall be free to believe as he wishes. The same fredom must also be granted to any group of persons who choose to unite themselves together because they think alike. The history of religion throughout the world has abundantly proved that the cause of anything that may be called genuine religion cannot be successfully advanced by means of force of any kind. The Inquisition in Europe did not succeed in holding together the church, and the Reformation was the answer to the attempt. All the numerous and persistent persecutions carried on by the church in order to secure uniformity of belief and ritual have not succeeded in uniting all Christians or in making Christianity a world religion. In fact, the Inquisition and the persecutions have directly resulted in the disintegration of the church, and in producing the very discords they sought to prevent.

The world shows no other such instance of persistent and cruel persecution as that which has been accorded to the Jews by the Christians. That persecution still goes on in Russia and other countries of eastern Europe; and yet, in spite of it, the Jews have prospered. It may be rightly assumed that the savage manner in which they have been treated for nearly two thousand years has been the very means of preserving them as a nation dispersed widely over the world. Had it not been for the persecution, the ghetto, and every other kind of outrage, they might have been amalgamated with other peoples and disappeared. Now they number 12,000,000, thanks to that hateful spirit which has kept them separated, and yet ardently devoted to their own faith, ritual and customs.

If Christianity has any vision, any sense of what is right and just, it will cease to coerce and to proselyte. The very attempt to bring all peoples into the acceptance of the same religion is the surest means of defeating the end it seeks to gain. In this day of the world's progress what is needed, and even demanded everywhere, is utter freedom of opinion, the right to worship God (or not to worship him) according to the dictates of one's own conscience. To many persons this freedom may seem to mean abandonment of all religion. On the other hand, history proves that the other method has promoted disintegration, growth of heresy, abandonment of all religion, and increase in sectarianism.

Surely, it is time we tried the other method, that of religious liberty, and the promotion of the sympathy and co-operation of religions. If in no other way, all the great religions throughout the world may unite in the securing in all progressive lands liberty of religion, freedom of conscience, and right to join in such ritual as one may prefer. No attempt whatever to secure unity of belief can lead to that end except temporarily. Sectarianism may be prospered by persecution, by coercion, by social ostracism, by an attitude opposed to all reforms and progress; but not so anything that deserves the name of spiritual religion.

Possibly the great war, with all its hatreds and its savageries, has fostered the sectarian spirit in religion; and this is what is acclaimed too often as a revival of religious devotion. Not in that way, however, is the cause of any religion that is pure and undefiled to be promoted. While it is desirable that men should become more serious-minded, and more concerned for what is of a permanent nature, nothing can be gained by a revival that sets men over against each other because of differences in belief and ritual. Rather will there be a gain by means of what promotes good-fellowship, honest regard to each other's

interests, and breaking down of all partition walls of separation.

The hatred of the Christian for Jew, Mohammedan and Buddhist is most unseemly, and can in no degree promote the interests of a genuine religious spirit or bring about that cessation of war, that fellowship of peoples we are desiring at the present time. The attitude of the western nations towards the Turks has been promoted by a narrowness and bigotry of sectarian religion which ought to shame all right-minded men throughout the world. To what extent India suffers at this moment because it is not Christian it would be difficult to say; but who can deny that here is an element in its subjection and its being held in bondage!

The sympathy of religions! It ought to exist, but rarely finds expression. Why should not all religions unite for the promotion of freedom of conscience, social justice, economic opportunity, abolition of poverty, the mastery of disease, and whatever else mankind needs most to have advanced at the present time?

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

Is British Rule a Benefit to India?

We are constantly pointed to the railways, telegraphs, mails, roads and other similar public improvements which have come into existence in India during the past 50 or 100 years, under British rule, as a proof of the great value to the Indian people of that rule. But this is wholly misleading. What should be done is to compare the progress made by India in these things and others, under a foreign rule, with the progress made during the same period by England, France, Italy, the United States and Japan, which have not been under foreign rule, but have stood on their own feet.

The truth simply is that all civilized nations have made great advances in these things within the time mentioned. The real question to be solved, therefore, is, whether foreign rule has helped in the case of India. As a fact, although India has made progress, her progress has not been anything like so great as that of the other nations mentioned which have been independent. The presumption then would seem to be that if she had been independent like the rest, her progress would have been far greater. Everybody knows that the freedom of each one of those other nations has been an important cause of its progress. Nobody would dare to claim that the progress of any one of those nations would have been increased by its being under foreign dominance. Why then is not the same reasoning applied to India? Is there not the strongest of reasons for believing that if she had been free, as the European nations and the United States and Japan have been free, she would have been much farther advanced than she is today?

Nor should we make the mistake of concluding that because India during the period named has got railroads, telegraphs, mail, better roads, etc., therefore her people as a whole are better off. The very opposite seems to be true. These things have little necsary relation to a people's real life or welfare. Unfortunately the Indian people cannot eat railroads and telegraphs to appease their dire hunger, or wear them to cover their nakedness. And even if they could they have no claim on them; these so-called improvements are in the hands of their British masters, and whatever revenues flow from them go mainly into British pockets. The poverty of the people is appalling, and it does not grow less. Indeed how can it, so long as the very life blood of the land is drained away to enrich a foreign nation? There is the very highest authority for the statement that 50 millions of the population of India do not know what it is to have a full meal even once in a year. The reason is not lack of food in the land. The British authorities themselves declare that even in the years when the rains fail worst, the years when the famines are most severe, there is plenty of food for those who have money to buy it with, and at prices not exorbitantly high. Indeed, there is always considerable export of foods from India even in the worst famine years. The trouble is the poverty of the people. This is why failure of crops causes starvation, causes famine. When the people's crops fail for a single season on account of lack of rain, they starve, not because there is no food obtainable (brought by the railways from areas where the rain has not failed), but because they have no money and no resources of any kind with which to buy food at no matter how low prices. Because of this awful poverty of the people the famines in India are more frequent and more terrible than anywhere else in the world; plague also slays these under-nourished and starving people by millions, and there is misery indescribable.

Nor is there any prospect of relief so long as the nation's finances and material resources are under the control of a foreign nation whose primary interest it is to get what it can from India, instead of to do what it can for India. In other words, there can be no hope for much, if any, improvement, until the present alien government, which, to use John Stuart Mills' expression, makes India its "milch cow," is changed to a government of the people of India, who will have their resources and their revenues under their own control, and therefore will be able to use them for their own benefit.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

THE LITTLE OLD BACK-YARD.

When daily loads are heavy
  And life seems dull and hard;
When ideals blur and blacken,
  I seek my old back-yard.

The weeds are running riot,
  No gardener is there;
The butterflies are dancing
  Without one thought of care.

The hollyhocks are nodding
  From high uplifted stalks;
The phlox and brave sweet William
  Are deep in gay side talks.

The bees are idly humming
  About the fresh sweet peas;
The summer breeze is playing
  Thro' gently swaying trees.

No agony of question,
  As to the "How" or "Why?"
No murmuring, no sadness,
  Because they soon must die.

Just simple faithful "Growing,"
  By doubt or fear unmarred;
This message straight from Heaven,
  Comes thro' my old back-yard.

SARA GERTRUDE HARRINGTON.

News from Europe

Marshal Joffre on War Preparations.

A Reuter telegram from Paris to the London newspapers says:

Marshal Joffre yesterday gave evidence before the French Parliamentary Committee which is inquiring into certain metallurgical questions, with special reference to the defence of the Briey Basin.

The Marshal was questioned as to the original plans of defence, and from notes he explained the reasons which in 1913 led to a complete change of plans. The violation of Belgian neutrality was foreseen, and the French concentration was carried farther northward, in consequence, towards Hirson. Marshal Joffre stated that all forces were to be engaged simultaneously, adding that a military convention with Great Britain existed, the terms of which were secret; but, nevertheless, the aid of six British divisions was counted upon, and also the support of the Belgians. With regard to Briey, the Marshal admitted that it was left uncovered since the fortress of Metz enabled the Germans to make an overwhelming rush upon, or to turn, the position through Luxemburg.

He described the general plan of battle in the first days in August, including the proposed attack with French forces on the left, and then came to the defeat at Charleroi, indicating how certain troops were driven back in disorder. The Marshal declared it was the most terrible day in his life. Some generals who were among his best friends were relieved from their commands. He then described subsequent operations until he handed over the command to General Nivelle.

In course of answers to numerous questions, Marshal Joffre stated that the number of rifles possessed by France at the beginning of the war was 2,300,000.

British Rule in Tipperary.

The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* throws a lurid light on the Irish situation. Writing from Tipperary he says:

Tipperary embraces a long stretch of the golden vale of Ireland. Its farmers are counted amongst the prosperous of their class and nearly all of them have purchased their holdings under the Wyndham Act. There is a large strain of English blood from an old plantation, and its absorption has given an extra degree of the prudential to the Irish temperament.

Tipperary is prosperous, and in any other country ought to be contented. In the days when Irish hopes beat high, Nenagh, a little town of four or five thousand, in the north, sent more than a thousand men to the army and received a testimonial to its patriotism from an English general. Everything is changed since then. The county returned an unbroken Sinn Fein representation at the last election and two of the pillars of the Nationalist party, whose record went back to the days of the Plan of Campaign, fell to four to one majorities.

Drilling, an offence against D.O.R.A., is the commonest pastime over a large part of the country, and within the last six months five policemen have been murdered, either in the county itself or on its borders. The parallel of Belgium under German occupation is not remote. Mr. Maloney, the local Sinn Fein M. P., told me this morning that his house had been raided three times by the police, and one gathers from other sources that this is a common experience. Mr. Maloney's son, a lad of nineteen, has received two terms of imprisonment for attending dances which the police regarded as seditious assemblies, and his case could be matched by a dozen others. The suppression of the popular organizations is a natural and perhaps inevitable development, but Tipperary bristles with bayonets today, and one at least of President Wilson's points looks like humbug.

Food Riots in Italy.

From the most important centers of Italy reports of grave disturbances reach the London newspapers. An Exchange telegram sent from Milan, July 7th, says:

Yesterday was a day of disorders and looting. Early in the morning squads of working men met supply wagons at the gates of the city, ordering the sale of the products at half price and confiscating the merchandise of those who refused. At about one o'clock a large crowd proceeded to the center of the city, crying out, "Reduce prices." Drapers and merchants immediately complied with their demand, and pasted cards on their windows and doors bearing the words, "These goods are at the disposal of the Chamber of Labor." The whole garrison of the city was turned out to regulate the queues which formed in front of the stores. Large quantities of food and wine were purchased by the crowd.

In the afternoon the lawless elements intervened and looting began on a large scale, many shoe, hat and hardware stores being emptied of their contents. The police charged the thieves and marauders mercilessly, and arrested everyone caught carrying goods without a paid receipt. Throughout the afternoon orgies were witnessed all over the city, and cabs toured the streets laden with champagne and other expensive wines which sold at 40 centissimi (about 4d.) a bottle.

The police were often forced to use weapons to protect their own lives. Fifty injured were received into hospital and over 1,000 arrests were made. The disorders subsided towards evening.

The Mayor of Milan has issued a manifesto ordering a 50 per cent reduction in the price of foodstuffs and a 40 per cent reduction in hotel and restaurant prices.

General Smuts and the League.

To a deputation of the Manchester branch of the League of Nations Union, General Smuts said:

History had a way of teaching men by bitter lessons to discover the defects in their organization, and the cause of the war had been this great defect, the absence of any supranational system of government. If the nations did not make the sacrifice involved in maintaining the League and loyally executing its decisions, the untold suffering of this war would be only a foretaste of the horrors in store for the world. The League could not indeed make war impossible, but it could secure that it should be less frequent and more difficult to begin.

At present it was exposed to two serious dangers. The first was the secret enmity of professional diplomatists of the old stamp, men who lived in the rabbit-warrens of the Foreign Offices of the separate nations, and who were likely to make silent but persistent effort to withhold all real power from the League. These men welcomed the constitution of the League as a kind of puppet-toy to dangle before the eyes of democracy, and they would like its Council to be a mere debating society, to which they would occasionally throw a few nuts that they themselves found too hard to crack—(laughter)—and nothing more. The second grave danger was too long delay in the admission of Germany to the League. Germany and Russia were at present in chaos, but they would not remain so, and it was futile to ignore the fact that they must again become the two most powerful elements in the life of the continent of Europe, whose weight the small adjacent nationalities were bound to feel. If the League ignored them both, it would encourage them to unite against it, and the effects in Asia as well as in Europe would be disastrous. Now was the time for united and devoted work to turn popular feeling in the right direction. No one could now think of the League of Nations as a mere vision of idealists, the talk of religious and humane enthusiasts not to be realized in practice. It was established, and must be made to work.

HOW OFTEN WE FORGET.

We are too heedless of the little things
Done for our comfort by our own each day;
Too thoughtless of the cheek our lips might kiss;
The grateful word—so short a word to say!
We notice not the tired feet hurrying
On our small errands; fail to heed the meek
Word of reproof, nor sicken with the thought
That at our blunders less kind lips might speak.
God trains His angels in our simple homes,
While we search skyward for the radiant wings;
And heaven's light plays about the patient souls
Who at our hearthstones daily toil and sing—
How often we forget, till dear tired hands
And tender watchful eyes
Weary of waiting for our tardy thanks
Slip into Paradise. —*Kate Whiting Patch.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE EIGHTH GERMAN PEACE CONGRESS.

What is the most reasonable and hopeful element in Germany saying today? The answer is of immense importance to skeptical nations which for four years have counted Germany an enemy and are now beginning to renew acquaintance with her. The resolutions in the Eighth German Peace Congress, held in Berlin, June 13-15, answer several important questions. What do the members think about the Peace Treaty, about Germany's responsibility for the war and about proposals for the future?

The resolutions are as follows in translation:

The Peace Treaty.—"The peace project of Versailles being contradictory to the fourteen points of the Wilson program and also to the right of peoples freely to dispose of themselves, and moreover imposing on the German people conditions which it will never be able to fulfill, the assembly protests against these conditions without however failing to recognize the grave responsibility which is incumbent on Germans in the 'declanchement' of the war."

This protest is not peculiar to Germans. The liberals in England and in the United States believe that after the establishment of the League the terms must be modified. Lloyd George himself declared in the House of Commons, July 3, that "The terms of the treaty are in some respects terrible." Says Arthur Henderson, "This treaty as it stands justifies the plea of the German militarist that a Germany which is not preponderantly powerful will be crushed by her enemies and that her only security is in her strength. . . . . Many of its provisions are patently unenforceable, e. g., the indemnity."

The extremists in the Senate are unwittingly doing their best to encourage Germany to believe that the United States will not concern itself with enforcing provisions of the treaty and that the whole question of the treaty may be reopened.

German Guilt.—"The Assembly recognizes in principle that Germany is guilty of having unchained the dogs of war. The Congress recognizes that the fallen imperial government is charged with a heavy responsibility in unreservedly backing the policy of Austria-Hungary toward Serbia. In associating itself with this policy, it directly made itself an accomplice in launching the catastrophe. But the Congress recalls at the same time that the great majority of the German people desired war no more than did other people, and that they were thrust into it by those who deceived them as to the causes of the conflict. It recalls, moreover, that the atmosphere of international suspicion created by the imperial policy of all the governments has been the indirect cause and has paralyzed the forces of resistance which ought to have been brought into play. The Congress deplores once more, as have all peace lovers during the war, the campaign of hate by which the mind of the German people was systematically poisoned, and which while exalting the worship of force helped prolong the war. The Congress recognizes that the facts which determined the catastrophe are due to the concerted action of the former German government and of the government of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire."

Renewed Relations.—"The Congress esteems it absolutely necessary that the peace makers of all countries should come into touch as soon as possible. It warmly desires to remove obstacles to the re-establishment of broken relationships, especially with the French workers, for peace."

Cruelties.—"Recalling a publication of Prof. Foerster entitled 'Conduct of the War in Germany,' the Congress regrets profoundly the cruel measures which were taken needlessly by the former command of the German army and which were an outrage to human dignity. It asks that the recent publications relative to cruelties be made complete and that full light be thrown on them and large publicity be given to them. It is convinced that as soon as they know the truth the German people will join fully in the general condemnation of the cruelties of which the great majority are now ignorant."

After protest against capital punishment and the use of violence in settling their own national problems, the Congress urges:

Free Trade.—"It sees in the abandonment of the principle of protection, until now held by Germany, and in the introduction of free trade, the surest means of bringing about the rapprochement of peoples and of preserving peace. Guided by this conviction, it expresses its desire for Germany to renounce the principle of protection which serves only the interest of a few."

Education.—"The Congress asks all departments of public instruction of the different states to place the teaching of the principles of peace in their school programs. It presents an urgent request that all school manuals be revised so as to remove suggestions that tend to war and in their place to substitute what will promote a spirit of conciliation with foreign peoples."

The names which appear in connection with these resolutions include two, at least, well known in America: Prof. Ludwig Quidde of Munich, for many years a Bavarian Senator, and author of a book entitled "Caligula," understood to be a veiled satire on William II. and Baron Eduard de Neufville of Frankfort, who took part in the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1914, and who before the war was very active in arranging interchange of visits between British and German clergy. Of late it is reported that he has been helping Belgian sufferers.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

LANSING ON THE TREATY.

If Secretary Lansing and his peace commission colleagues have been at serious odds with the President on any material point in the treaty of peace or the league covenant, the foreign relations committee failed to discover the fact.

Even the much advertised "protest" against the Shantung settlement said to have been presented to the President by Secretary Lansing, Gen. Bliss and Mr. White turned out to be merely an expression of opinion, requested by Mr. Wilson, and prepared in the name of his three associates by Gen. Bliss.

Two points, however, were brought out by questioning the Secretary that are of interest in their bearing upon Shantung.

First, the secret agreement between Japan and the allies was known to the state department before the commissioners reached Versailles.

Second, in Secretary's Lansing's opinion, Japan's signature to the treaty could have been obtained even if her Shantung claims had not received favorable consideration.

It is evident, therefore, that in the matter of Shantung the American commissioners did not walk into a trap. The "secret" agreement was no secret, no suddenly sprung barrier to American policy. It was approached with full knowledge of its existence, and the President dealt with it after time for deliberation. It is well to emphasize this point, whatever may be thought of the course taken by the President, because there has been a distinct tendency on the part of certain senators and newspapers to attribute bad faith to the allies in the matter of secret treaties. America has been portrayed walking with eyes shut into a labyrinth of intrigue from which she has been unable to escape. Those who assume that we are involved in a perilous predicament delight to picture us as lured by fair words of treacherous nations to our own undoing. It is the old and mischievous game of promoting international distrust, played at the cost of American self-respect.

We had been led to think, by those who had visited the White House, that President Wilson yielded to Japan under the belief that in no other way could she be kept in the League of Nations. Secretary Lansing, while disclaiming knowledge of the facts in this connection, gives it as his opinion that the Shantung settlement was not the essential price for Japan's signature. It may be that this is a point on which the secretary and the President differ in judgment, but it leaves us curious for further information.

Viscount Uchida has already made it clear that Japan has no intention of interfering with the sovereignty of China over Shantung. This fact stands by implication in the terms of the treaty, and the impression that the whole province had become a Japanese possession arose from misrepresentation by uninformed or mendacious critics.

In the meantime Viscount Uchida assures the world that Japan does not regard the Kiachau-Chianfu Railroad as her exclusive property, but that she proposes to operate it jointly with China and to open it for the use of all comers.

Chicago Evening Post, July 8.

A LONDON OPINION

Spoken March 23, 1919

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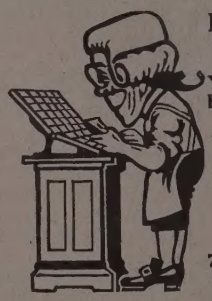

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